Polit. Pamph. Vol 78.

A SECOND

LETTER

TO

Sir J— B—,

WHEREIN

The Late *Minehead* Doctrine is further consider'd.

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By Birth a *Swede*, but Naturaliz'd, and a M-----r of the Preſent P-------t.

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The Late *Minehead* Doctrine is further conſider'd.

Nec quenquam jam ferre poteſt Cæſarve priorem,
Pompejuſve parem.——————

Lucan.

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By Birth a *Swede*, but Naturaliz'd, and a M------r of the Preſent P--------t.

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The Late *Minehead* Doctrine is further conſider'd.

SIR,

THE Preſent Enſlav'd State of your own Native Country; *Denmark*, &c. having been fairly laid before you, and Demonſtrated to be wholly occaſion'd by the Principles of the *Mine-*

head Doctrine, of which you are lately grown ſo ſtrenuous a Defender; it will not be amiſs to let you ſee alſo, that the former, as well as preſent Diſtractions in our Church and State, have likewiſe Roſe from the ſame Corrupt Spring.

In order to which, I ſhall firſt give you an Account of the *Authors* made uſe of, which I hope will be allow'd to be of as Unqueſtionable Authority as thoſe before cited, with reſpect to *Sueden*, *Denmark*, &c. They are only Five; Monſieur *Bayle*, Sir *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*, my Lord *Clarendon*, the Archbiſhop of *York*, and Dr. *Welwood*. I ſhall not ſpend any Time in giving Characters of theſe Writers, they being ſo well known, and receiv'd with a General Applauſe. In the following Attempt, I think that I may ſafely conclude the Charge of *Bigotry* cannot be alledg'd againſt me, ſince you'll find that I have been Equally Juſt in Detecting the Extremes of both Parties.

The firſt Inſtance I ſhall produce, is an Account of the Behaviour of a Turbulent Biſhop, even in the moſt early Days of Chriſtianity, what Sentiments were at that time entertain'd of him, and the Dreadful Conſequences that attended his Raſh and Inconſiderate Zeal.

Vide Monſieur *Bayle*'s Dictionary, Letter *A*.

" *ABDAS*, a Biſhop in *Perſia* in the Time " of *Theodoſius* Junior, was, through his Incon- " ſiderate Zeal, the Cauſe of a very Terrible Per- " ſecution which was rais'd againſt the Chriſti- " ans, who enjoy'd a full Liberty of Conſcience " in *Perſia*, when this Biſhop took upon him " to pull down one of the Temples where

" the

" the *Perſians* worſhipp'd the Fire. * The *Magi* made
" their Complaints to the King, who ſent for *Abdas*,
" and after a mild Cenſure order'd him to Rebuild that
" Temple. *Abdas* refus'd to do it, though the Prince
" declar'd to him, That in caſe of Diſobedience, he
" would cauſe all the Chriſtian Churches to be pull'd
" down. Which he did, and all the Faithful were de-
" liver'd up to the Mercy of the Prieſts, who being
" vex'd at the Toleration that had been granted, fell
" upon 'em with great Fury. *Abdas* was the firſt *Mar-*
" *tyr* who loſt his Life on this Occaſion; if we may ſo
" call a Man, who by his Raſhneſs expos'd the Church
" to ſo many Misfortunes. The Chriſtians, who had
" already forgot one of the moſt eſſential Parts of Chri-
" ſtian Patience, had recourſe to a Remedy which oc-
" caſion'd another Deluge of Blood. They implor'd
" the Aſſiſtance of *Theodoſius*, which kindled a long War
" between the *Romans* and *Perſians*. 'Tis true, that the
" latter was worſted: But was there any certainty that
" they ſhould not overcome the *Romans*, and that being
" fluſh'd with Victory, inſtead of Perſecuting only the
" Chriſtians in *Perſia*, they would not exerciſe a general
" Perſecution in all the other Churches? The Fury of
" the Perſecutors could ſcarce be ſatisfied in the Space
" of Thirty Years: Thus we ſee what Miſchiefs the In-
" conſiderate Zeal of a Private Man may occaſion.

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* The *Magi* made their Complaints to the King.] 'Twas *Iſdegerdes*, if we rely upon *Theodoret*; but according to *Socrates*, the Perſecution begun only under *Vara-nes*, Son and Succeſſor of *Iſdegerdes*. *Baronius* dares not determine which of the Two is in the Right. The *Magi* may be properly call'd Prieſts, for it was their Buſineſs to take care of Holy Matters, and to prevent all manner of Innovation in Religion. *Theodoret* compares them to a Whirlwind, which raiſes the Waves of the Sea; ſuch was their Function in the Storm that toſs'd ſo violently the Church of *Perſia*, for the Space of Thirty Years. *Socrates* tells us, That they made uſe of ſeveral Impoſtures to put a ſtop to the Progreſs of the Chriſtian Religion,

Religion, when they saw that the Love *Isdegerdes* had conceiv'd for the Holy Bishop *Maruthas*, gave them Reason to fear, that he would forsake their Religion. They were so bold as to hide a Man under-ground, in the Temple where the King used to worship the Fire; and they order'd him to cry out, when the King should come in, *That Prince ought to be dethron'd, who has been so Impious as to believe, that a Christian Priest is a Friend of God.*

If what is most falsly said by Impious Men were True, *Viz.* That Religion is a meer Humane Invention, set up by the Sovereigns to keep Subjects within the Bounds of Obedience, how could it be denied, that Princes are the first who have been taken in their own Snares? For Religion is so far from making them Masters of their Subjects, that on the contrary it submits them to their Subjects; inasmuch as they are oblig'd to profess the Religion of their People, and not that which seems to them to be the Best: But if they are resolv'd to profess a Religion different from that of their Subjects, they run the Hazard of losing their Crown. We see how the *Persian Magi* threaten'd their King; tho' he had only caress'd one Bishop. It has been said, that the last King of *Siam* was dethron'd for having too much favoured the Christian Missionaries. The same *Socrates*, who mentions the Artifices made use of by the *Magi*, to put a stop to the Propagation of the Gospel, tells us likewise, that after the Death of *Isdegerdes*, they inspir'd his Son with such a Spirit of Persecution, that a horrid Cruelty was Exercis'd against the Christians. They had endeavour'd, but in vain, to inspire his Father with the same Spirit; for he was like to embrace the Gospel. Tho' *Socrates* is to blame for not owning sincerely, that the Rash Action of Bishop *Abdas* afforded the *Magi* a very plausible Pretence. All the Church Historians are not Guilty of the Unsincerity for which I blame *Socrates*; for *Theodosius* does ingenuously confess, that the Bishop, who pull'd down a Temple, occasion'd the dreadful Persecution of the Christians in *Persia*. He does not deny but that the Zeal of that Bishop was unseasonable; but he maintains, that his refusing to rebuild such a Temple

is

s worthy of Admiration, and deſerves a Crown: For methinks, ſays he, 'tis as great an Impiety to build a Temple to the Fire, as to worſhip it.

For my own part, I am of Opinion, That no Private Men, whether they be Metropolitans or Patriarchs, can at any time be diſpens'd from this Law of Natural Religion. The Damage that has been done to one's Neighbour ought to be made up by Reſtitution, or ſome other way. Now *Abdas* a meer private Man, and a Subject of the *Perſian* King, Deſtroy'd what did belong to others, and was ſo much the more Privileged, becauſe it belong'd to the prevailing Religion; he was therefore indiſpenſably obliged to obey the Orders of his Sovereign, by reſtoring what he had deſtroy'd: And it was no good Excuſe to ſay, That the Temple which he was order'd to rebuild was deſign'd for the Uſe of Idolaters; for he was not to put it to thar Uſe, and he could not be anſwerable for the Abuſe of thoſe whom it did belong to. Would it be a good Reaſon for Robbing a Man, to ſay he ſpends his Money extravagantly? Let him do ſo; you are not anſwerable to God for the Follies he commits: Let him enjoy what is his own; what Right have you to it? Beſides, could there be any Compariſon between the Deſtruction of a Temple, without which, the *Perſians*, would have remain'd as great Idolaters as they were before, and occaſion'd the Deſtruction of many Chriſtian Churches? *Abdas* ſhould therefore have prevented this Laſt Evil by the Firſt, ſince the Prince put it to his Choice. Laſtly, Can any thing render the Chriſtian Religion more odious to all the Nations of the World, than to ſee, that after they have inſinuated themſelves, as only deſiring the Liberty of teaching their Doctrine, they are ſo bold as to Deſtroy the Temples conſecrated to the Religion of the Country, and refuſe to rebuild them when the Sovereign commands it? Is it not to give occaſion to ſay; Theſe Men deſire at Firſt a meer Toleration, but in a little time, they'll pretend to ſhare with us all Employments and Places of Truſt, and then become our Maſters: At firſt they think themſelves very happy if they are not Burnt, afterwards very unhappy,

happy, if they have fewer Privileges than thoſe who are of the Eſtabliſh'd Religion; and then again miſerable, if they are not the only prevailing Party. During a certain time they are like *Cæſar*, who would have no Maſter; and then they are like *Pompey*, who would have no Partner?

The Perſecutors of the *French* Proteſtants did maliciouſly inſpire *Charles* IX. with ſuch a Thought. 'Tis ſaid, that Prince made uſe of theſe words, ſpeaking to the Admiral *de Coligni*. "Such are the unavoidable Inconveniences which they expoſe themſelves to, who maintain ſo warmly, that the Power of the Secular Arm ought to be made uſe of for the Eſtabliſhment of Orthodoxy. Such were the Principles of *Abdas*: For what would he not have done with Force of Arms againſt the Idolaters under a Chriſtian Emperor, ſince under a Heathen Prince who tolerated the Chriſtian Religion, he pull'd down a Temple for which the Heathens had a very particular Veneration?

Thus, Sir, have I faithfully laid before you the Article M. *Bayle* gives us of *Abdas*, together with his own Remarks, and am not inſenſible that tho' I have choſen this Example of an inconſiderate and raſh Zeal to introduce my preſent Deſign, that upon firſt ſight our Clergy will fall foul upon me for ſo doing; becauſe they reckon M. *Bayle* an Enemy to all reveal'd Religion; which will be a Demonſtration of that Vice I am endeavouring to correct in them. 'Tis not my Buſineſs here to enquire into M. *Bayle*'s Principles, but ſuppoſing him to be ſuch a Perſon as they would repreſent him to the World, yet muſt nothing that he ſays be regarded? This is indeed the True and Fatal Cauſe of all our Former, and Preſent Uneaſineſſes, in being carried away wholly by Prejudice, and not allowing the leaſt time for Recollection.

I ſhall now proſecute my intended Deſign without making the leaſt Reflection, leaving Matter of Fact to ſpeak for it ſelf; the Inſtance of *Abdas* already recited is ſufficient to ſhew the Diſmal Effects brought about by an Inconſiderate Zeal in the Early Days of Chriſtianity,

and

and it being needleſs to look any further into Remote Parts, I will now confine my ſelf to *Engliſh* Examples, and refer to the Authors themſelves, for the Proof of what I aſſert.

The Firſt Inſtance I ſhall produce, is the Behaviour of the Clergy in King *Henry* II's Time; thus delivered by that Learned and Impartial Hiſtorian * Sir *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*; —— " In the " VIth. Year of his Reign, King *Henry* " looks to the Prerogatives of his " Crown, infring'd by the Clergy, " whoſe Power he had found too " great in the Buſineſs between his Mother and King " *Stephen*; and he doubted how they might deal with " his Poſterity. The Lay Nobility laid more Weights, " informing the King, That the Clergy hindred the " Execution of Juſtice, held their Dominion a-part; " and, being exempt from Secular Puniſhments, com- " mitted many Enormous Acts, and no Redreſs to be " had. That ſince his Reign, about an 100 Manſlaugh- " ters had been committed by Men in Orders.

* Whitlocke's *Memorials*, fol, Pag. 47. ſeq. *lately Publiſh'd by* W. Penn, Anno 1709.

" The VII. Year, The King had preferr'd *Thomas* " *Becket*, a Creature and Servant of his, to be Archbi- " ſhop of *Canterbury*; whom he expected ready to ad- " vance all his Affairs, made him Chancellor, and gave " him the Education of the Prince. The Clergy had " got their Juriſdiction much Enlarg'd and Strengthen'd. " The King calls a Parliament, and propoundeth, That " ſuch of the Clergy as ſhould be convicted of any hei- " nous Offence, ſhould loſe the Privilege of the Church, " and be puniſh'd by the Civil Magiſtrate as other Sub- " jects were.

" The IX. Year, *Becket* and the other, Biſhops and " Clergy, oppos'd this, being againſt the Liberties of " the Church. The King demanded, if they would ſub- " mit to the Laws and Cuſtoms which the Biſhops, in " the Time of *Henry* I. did obſerve: *i. e.*

" † *To acknowledge the King as ſupreme Judge* " *in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, granting him the* " *Power of Redreſſing all Grievances Complain'd*

† Vide *the ſame Hiſtorian*, Pag. 40.

" *of*

" *of by the Laity*, &c. They anſwer'd they would; Their " Order, the Honour of God, and Holy Church, in all " Things ſav'd. The King diſpleas'd with this Reſerva- " tion, breaks up the Parliament, denies *Becket* acceſs " to him, takes from him what he could, and counte- " nances thoſe who oppos'd him.

" The Pope and Cardinals writ to *Becket* to reconcile " this Jar, and to make Peace with his Lord the King, " and to promiſe to obſerve his Laws without Excep- " tion; which *Becket* did promiſe to the King. Who " thereupon calls a Parliament at *Clarendon*, where they " were charg'd to reduce the Laws of *Henry* I. the King's " Grand-father, into Writing: Which being done, the " King willed the Archbiſhop and Biſhops to ſet to them " their Seals, which the reſt were content to do, but " *Becket* refus'd it. At length the reſt perſuaded him, " and intimated Danger, by the King's Servants ruſhing " up and down with threat'ning Countenances: Where- " upon *Becket* took his Oath, to obſerve the King's Laws " without any Reſervation. Then taking the Writing " into his Hand, he ſaid to the Clergy, *Brethren, ſtand " faſt, you ſee the Malice of the King, and that we are bound " to beware:* And ſo the Council ended, but not the King's " Diſpleaſure; when only he found to bear up againſt " him, who had ſo much favour'd him.

" He therefore proceeds to diſgrace him; and to ad- " vance the Archbiſhop of *York* above him, writes to the " Pope to make him Legate: But he refus'd, and ſent " his Legation to the King, ſo as he ſhould do nothing " to grieve *Becket*. But the King, in Indignation, ſent " back the Pope's Grant, as an Indignity to him.

" *Becket* repents of his Oath at *Clarendon*, ſuſpends " himſelf, and doth Penance till the Pope ſent him an " Abſolution: Then he endeavours to go to *Rome* with " the King's Leave, contrary to the Law made at *Cla- " rendon* (but by contrary Winds brought back) which " more exaſperated the King. Then he is ſummon'd " to a Parliament at *Northampton*: Suits in Law go a- " gainſt him, he is call'd to Account for the King's Mo- " nies, and pleads his Acquitance for all Receipts. The

" King

" King urged to have Judgment againſt him, and he is " ſummon'd to appear.

" In the Morning of his Appearance, he ſaith the Maſs " of *Stephen* the Proto-Martyr, and comes to Court in " his *Pontificalibus*, carrying the Croſs; for which he was " blamed by the other Biſhops, who offer'd to pull it " out of his Hand, but he held it faſt.

" The Archbiſhop of *York*, his Ancient Adverſary, " rebukes him ſharply for coming thus as to a Tyrant or " Heathen Prince; and told him, *The King had a Sword* " *ſharper than his Croſs.* *Becket* reply'd, *The King's Sword* " *wounds carnally, but mine ſtrikes ſpiritually, and ſends the* " *Soul to Hell.*

" *Becket* inveighs at the Proceedings againſt the Spiri- " tual Father of the King, and of all his Subjects, eſpe- " cially by the Sons of the Church; and he appeals to " the Pope. The Parliament cry'd he was a Traytor, " that having receiv'd ſo many Benefits from the King, " refus'd to do him Earthly Honour, and to obey his " Laws which he had ſworn to: And the Biſhops re- " nounced their Eccleſiaſtical Obedience to him, cited " him to *Rome*, and condemned him as a perjur'd Man " and a Traytor. Being charg'd to anſwer, he refus'd " to ſtand to the Judgment of the King, or any other " Perſon; ſaying, *They were bound to obey God and Him,* " *rather than any Earthly Creature.* Then he departed, " and diſguiſing himſelf got into *Flanders*, and ſo to " *France.*

" Preſently King *Henry* ſends to the King of *France* not " to countenance *Becket*, a Rebel againſt his King; yet " the King of *France* ſends to the Pope in *Becket's* Be- " half.

" King *Henry* ſends divers Biſhops and Lords Com- " miſſioners to the Pope, to inform him of *Becket's* " Cauſe; which they did, and of his Crime and Pee- " viſhneſs, very fully: But they not being able to pre- " vail with the Pope, came away in Diſcontent. Then " *Becket* brought to the Pope the Laws made at *Claren-* " *don*; which being read before him, the Cardinals, " and the reſt of the Clergy, they condemned them,

" and all that obey'd or favour'd them, being ſmart a-
" gainſt the Church's Privileges.

" King *Henry* ordains, That if any bring Letters of
" Interdiction from the Pope, he ſhall forthwith be exe-
" cuted as a Traytor; that no Clergy-man ſhall paſs
" over Sea without Licenſe; forbids Appeals to *Rome*,
" and *Peter Pence*; baniſheth all *Becket*'s Kindred, and
" adheres to the Anti-Pope; this exaſperates Pope *Alex-*
" *ander*, who writes to the Clergy of *England* to oppoſe
" the King; excommunicates his ſpecial Miniſters who
" adher'd to the *German* Faction, *Alexander*'s Enemies;
" and thoſe who had enter'd upon the Goods of the
" Church of *Canterbury*.

" *Becket* having now been a conſiderable time abroad,
" the XVI. Year the Pope writes to ſome Biſhops, to
" admoniſh the King to deſiſt from intruding upon the
" Liberties of the Church, and to reſtore Archbiſhop
" *Becket*.

" The Biſhops write a long Anſwer to the Pope, gi-
" ving him an Account of the King's Anſwer to their
" Meſſage, and the Reaſons of his Proceedings.

" The King of *France* mediates with King *Henry*, when
" in *Normandy*, to be reconciled to *Becket*: King *Henry* to
" pleaſe his Brother of *France*, made an end of the Dif-
" ference with the Clergy. And the King of *France*,
" with King *Henry* and *Becket* meet: He at the King's
" Feet, ſaith, *He will refer all to his Royal Order, God's*
" *Honour only reſerv'd.*

" King *Henry* in Choler ſaid, *Whatſoever diſpleaſeth this*
" *Man, he would have it to be againſt God's Honour: But*
" *that you may ſee I will not reſiſt God's Honour, and him,*
" *look what the greateſt and moſt Holy of all his Predeceſſors,*
" *have done to the meaneſt of mine: Let him do the ſame to*
" *me, and it ſhall ſuffice.*

" *Becket* reply'd peremptorily: So that the King of
" *France*, and all with him, were ſatisfied of the King's
" Proceedings, and of *Becket*'s Frowardneſs; yet at length
" they were reconciled: And afterwards the King wrote
" a Letter to his Son, the young King *Henry*, command-
" ing him to reſtore *Becket* to his *See*.

" *Becket*

" *Becket* returning to *England*, ſuſpended the Archbiſhop of *York* for crowning the Young King without his Leave within his Province, and againſt the Pope's Command: He had Letters alſo to ſuſpend other Biſhops that officiated at the Coronation.

" The Biſhops reſort to the King in *Normandy*, acquaint him with *Becket*'s Proceedings; and that he was grown ſo Imperious, that there was no living under him: Wherewith the King was ſo much moved, that he is ſaid to utter theſe Words; *In what a Miſerable State am I, that cannot be quiet in my own Kingdom for ONE only Prieſt! Is there no Man will rid me of this Trouble?* At which words, ſome report, Four Knights gueſſing the King's Mind, went into *England* to the Archbiſhop; others ſay, they were ſent to him from the King to take off the Suſpenſion from the Biſhops, and to wiſh him to take his Oath of Fealty to the Young King.

" Theſe Four Knights came to the Archbiſhop, and finding him peremptory, and not regarding their Maſter the King, they entered in their Armour into the Church, whither *Becket* was withdrawn, and the Monks at Divine Service: There they reviled the Archbiſhop, called him Traytor, gave him many Wounds, and ſtruck out his Brains, that his Blood beſprinkled the Altar.

" He died with much Courage, committing the Cauſe of the Church, with his Soul, to God and the Saints. The Circumſtances and Hatred of the Deed, made Compaſſion and Opinion to be on his Side. The Murderers durſt not go back to the King, but within 4 Years all of them died miſerable Fugitives.

" The King of *France* and the Earl of *Blois* inform the Pope of this Wicked Fact, and excite him to unſheath St. *Peter*'s Sword, and take Revenge for *Becket*'s Martyrdom.

" The Archbiſhop of *Sens* writes to the Pope, *That he was appointed over Nations and Kingdoms, to bind their Kings in Fetters, and their Nobles with Manacles of Iron; that all Power, both in Heaven and Earth, was given to*

" *his*

" *his Apoſtleſhip: bids him look how the Boar of the Wood hath* " *rooted up the Vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth*; and then " rails bitterly againſt the King imbruing the *Sanctum* " *Sanctorum* with Blood, and tearing in pieces the Vice- " gerents of Chriſt, *&c.* concluding with an Exhortation, " that he would arm all the Eccleſiaſtical Power for " Revenge.

" The King employ'd the ableſt Men he could chuſe, " to declare his Innocence to the Pope, and how grie- " vouſly he took the Matter; yet the Pope denied Au- " dience to his Ambaſſadors, and the Cardinals refus'd " Conference with them: But they wrought ſo by Apo- " logies and Remonſtrances, and dealt ſo, as they kept " off the higheſt Cenſure, daily threaten'd and expected. " They gravely urged the Miſchiefs that might follow " in the Church, if a King of ſo great a State and Sto- " mach ſhould be driven to take Deſperate Courſes.

" The Pope ſent two Legates into *Normandy* to Inter- " dict the King, but he appeal'd to the Preſence of the " Pope, and ſo diſappointed them: And returning into " *England*, he commanded that no Brief Carriers ſhould " be permitted to croſs the Seas, without giving Security " of good Behaviour to the King and Kingdom.

Thus have I faithfully given you the whole Relation of what paſs'd between this *Prince*, and *Archbiſhop*, from his firſt Riſe, to his Deplorable Fall; proceed we next to the Behaviour of Archbiſhop *ABBOT* in the *Convocation* at the Beginning of King *James* I. Reign, * " This Convocation goes un- " der the Name of *Overals* Convoca- " tion; it's very probable, that this *Convocation* was call'd, to clear ſome Doubt that King *James* might have had, about the Lawfulneſs of the *Hollanders* throwing off the *Monarchy* of *Spain*, and their withdrawing, for good and all, their Allegiance to that Crown: Which was the great Matter then in Agitation in moſt Courts of *Chriſtendom*.

* Welwood's *Memoirs* 12°. Pag. 31. *and* ſeq.

It appears plainly by ſome of thoſe *Canons* that the High-flown Notions of *Prerogative* and *Abſolute Obedience* which became afterwards into Faſhion, were not much known

known at that time: At leaſt the Clergy were not of that Opinion. It's true this was the firſt time that a King *de Jure* and *de Facto*, was ever mention'd as a Point of Divinity, or a Doctrine of the Church: Tho' it had been taken notice of before, and that but once, as a Matter of Law, in an Act of Parliament, of *Henry* VII. But theſe *Canons* did never receive the *Royal Approbation*, and therefore are in the ſame Caſe as if they had never been.

King *James* thought theſe Points too nice to be much touch'd upon, and was highly diſpleas'd with the *Members* of that *Convocation* for medling in Matters which he thought were without their Sphere. Thereupon he writ the following Angry Letter to the Archbiſhop (then Dr. *Abbot*) of which I had the good Fortune to light upon, *Viz.*

Good Dr. ABBOT,

I *Cannot abſtain from giving you my Judgment of your Proceedings in your Convocation, as you call it; and both as* Rex in Solio, *and* unus Gregis in Eccleſia, *I am doubly concern'd. My Title to the Crown no body calls in Queſtion, but they that neither love you nor me; and you gueſs whom I mean. All that you and your Brethren have ſaid of a King in Poſſeſſion (for that Word, I tell you, is no worſe than that you make uſe of in your Canon) concerns not me at all; I am the next Heir, and the Crown is mine by all Rights you can name, but that of Conqueſt; and Mr.* Sollicitor *has ſufficiently expreſs'd my own Thoughts concerning the Nature of Kingſhip in general, and concerning the Nature of it,* ut in mea Perſona: *And I believe you were all of his Opinion: at leaſt none of you ſaid ought contrary to it, at the time he ſpake to you from me: But you know all of you, as I think, that my reaſon of calling you together, was to give your Judgments how far a Chriſtian and a Proteſtant King may concur to aſſiſt his Neighbours to ſhake off their Obedience to their once Sovereign, upon the account of Oppreſſion, Tyranny, or what elſe you like to name it. In the late Queen's time this Kingdom was very free in aſſiſting the* Hollanders *both with Arms and Advice, and none of your*

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Coat ever told me, that any ſcrupled about it in her Reign. Upon my coming to England, *you may know that it came from ſome of your ſelves to raiſe Scruples about this Matter: And albeit, I have told my Mind concerning* Jus Regium in Subditos, *in* May *laſt in the* Star-Chamber, *upon the occaſion of* Hales *his Pamphlet; yet I never took notice of theſe Scruples, till the Affairs of* Spain *and* Holland *forc'd me to it. All my Neighbours call on me to concur in the Treaty between* Holland *and* Spain; *and the Honour of the Nation will not ſuffer the* Hollanders *to be abandon'd, eſpecially after ſo much Money and Men ſpent in their Quarrel: Therefore I was of the Mind to call my Clergy together, to ſatisfie not ſo much me, as the World about us, of the Juſtneſs of my owning the* Hollanders *at this time: This I needed not have done; and you have forced me to ſay, I wiſh I had not. You have dipped too deep in what all Kings reſerve among the* Arcana Imperii, *and whatever Averſion you may profeſs againſt God's being the Author of Sin, you have ſtumbled upon the Threſhold of that Opinion, in ſaying upon the Matter, that even Tyranny is God's Authority, and ſhould be reverenced as ſuch. If the King of* Spain *ſhould return to claim his old Pontifical Right to my Kingdom, you leave me to ſeek for others to fight for it: For you tell us upon the Matter before-hand, his Authority is God's Authority, if he prevail.*

Mr. Doctor, I have no time to expreſs my ſelf farther in this Thorny Buſineſs. I ſhall give you my Orders about it by Mr. Sollicitor; *and until then meddle no more in it, for they are Edge Tools, or rather like that Weapon, that's ſaid to Cut with the one Edge, and cure with the other. I commit you to God's Protection, good Doctor* Abbot, *and reſt,*

Your Good Friend,

JAMES R.

That * Hiſtorian who is now by our Clergy almoſt reckon'd *Canonical*, gives the following Character of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, who tho' he made ſuch a Stir and Buſtle, was as unfitly qualified for what he undertook

* *Lord* Clarendon's *Hiſtory*, 8vo. Vol. I. Part. I. Pag. 88.

undertook as it was poſſible for any Perſon to be: *And as the* Hiſtorian very juſtly obſerves, "He had ſat too "many Years in the See of *Canterbury*, and had too "great a Juriſdiction over the Church, tho' he was with-"out any Credit in the Court from the Death of King "*James*, and had not much in many Years before. He "had been Head or Maſter of one of the Pooreſt Colleges "in *Oxford*, and had Learning ſufficient for that Pro-"vince. He was a Man of very Moroſe Manners, and "a very Sour Aſpect, which in that time was call'd "Gravity; and under the Opinion of that Vertue, and "by the Recommendation of the Earl of *Dunbar*, the "King's firſt *Scotch* Favourite, he was preferr'd by King "*James* to the Biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Lichfield*, and "preſently after to *London*, (and from thence to *Canter-*"*bury*) before he had been Parſon, Vicar or Curate of "any Pariſh Church in *England*, or Dean or Prebend, "of any Cathedral Church; and was in Truth totally "ignorant of the true Conſtitution of the Church of "*England*, and the State and Intereſt of the Clergy; as "ſufficiently appear'd throughout the whole Courſe of "his Life.

Such were the Qualifications of this *Ignoramus* Biſhop, who was yet thought a very proper *Tool of a Party*, that through the Neceſſities of Impair'd Fortunes had given Demonſtrations ſufficient, of their Endowments being upon an Equality with the *Archbiſhops*, and from the Acquirements of Noiſe and Nonſenſe join'd to a ſordid ſelf Intereſt (tho' with the old Text ready in their Mouths of *Liberty*, *Property*, *and the Welfare of the Nation lying next their Heart*) theſe New Governours muſt break through all, to get into the State-Saddle in which how long they would ſit, any Man of a Reaſonable Capacity might Prognoſticate from their awkard Mounting; and indeed to ſuch ſurprizing Turns! May very well be applied that judicious Invocation of the *Poet*,

Protect us Mighty Providence,
What would theſe Madmen have?
Firſt they would bribe us without Pence,
Deceive us without Common Senſe,
And without Power Inſlave.

Let us now ſurvey the Management of Archbiſhop *Laud* his Succeſſor.

King *Charles* I. came to the Crown under Infinite Diſadvantages; and yet the Nation might have hoped that their Condition would be mended under a Prince of ſo much Vertue, as indeed he was, if the Seeds of Diſcontent, which were ſown in his Father's time, had not every Day taken deeper Root, and acquir'd new Growth, through the Ill Management of his Miniſters, rather than any wilful Errors of his own.

Some of them drove ſo faſt, that it was no wonder the Wheels and Chariot broke: And it was in great part to the indiſcreet Zeal of Biſhop *Laud*, who had got the Aſcendant over his Maſter's Conſcience and Councils, that both the *Monarchy* and *Hierarchy* owed afterwards their Fall.

To trace this Matter a little higher; there aroſe in the preceding Reign two oppoſite Parties in the Church, which became now more than ever exaſperated againſt each other; the one headed by *Abbot*, the other by *Laud*, *Abbot* was a Perſon of too eaſie a Temper, being not well turn'd for a Court, and either could not, or would not ſtoop to the Humour of the Times: And now and then by an unſeaſonable Stiffneſs, gave occaſion to his Enemies to repreſent him as not well inclined to the Prerogative, or too much addicted to a *Popular Intereſt*, and therefore not fit to be employed in Matters of Government.

On the other hand, as Biſhop *Laud* was a Man ſo much ſuperior in Learning that they are not to be named together, ſo much greater was his Ambition and Natural Parts, for he nicely underſtood the Art of Pleaſing a Court; and finding no ſurer way to raiſe himſelf to the firſt Dignities of the Church, than by acting a quite contrary part to that of Biſhop *Abbot*, he gave into every thing that ſeemed to favour the *Prerogative* of the Crown, or enforce an *Abſolute Obedience* upon the Subject.

The King's urgent Neceſſities, and the Backwardneſs to ſupply them, had forc'd him upon unwarrantable Methods of raiſing Money; and the Readineſs the *Ro-*

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man Catholicks expreſs'd to aſſiſt him in his Wants, did beget in him at firſt a Tenderneſs towards, and afterwards a Truſt and Confidence in them; which was unhappily miſtaken by his other Subjects, as if he inclin'd to their Religion.

Among other means of raiſing Money, that of *Loan* was fallen upon; which met with great Difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One *Sibthorp*, an obſcure Parſon, in a Sermon preach'd at *Northampton* Aſſizes, was for making his Court by aſſerting not only the Lawfulneſs of this way of impoſing Money by *Loan*, but that it was the indiſpenſible Duty of the Subject to comply with it. At the ſame time Dr. *Manwaring* preach'd two Sermons before the King at *Whitehall*, in which he advanced theſe Doctrines, I. *That the King is not bound to obſerve the Laws of the Realm, concerning the Subjects Rights and Liberties; but that his Royal Word and Command in impoſing Laws and Taxes without Conſent of Parliament, does oblige the Subjects Conſcience, upon Pain of Eternal Damnation.* II. *That thoſe who refus'd to pay this Loan, did offend againſt the Law of God, and became guilty of Impiety, Diſloyalty and Rebellion, and that the Authority of Parliament is not neceſſary for raiſing of Aids and Subſidies.*

Abbot indeed was averſe to theſe Doctrines; and for an Advantage againſt him, *Sibthorp*'s Sermon dedicated to the King, was ſent him by his Majeſty's Order to Licenſe, which he refus'd, and ſent back his Reaſons; which *Laud* anſwer'd, and Licens'd both *Sibthorp*'s and *Manwaring*'s Sermons. Upon this, *Abbot* was confin'd and ſuſpended from his Function; The Adminiſtration of which was committed to *Laud*, and ſome others of his Recommendation. Some time after *Abbot* dying in Diſgrace, *Laud* ſucceeded him in the See of *Canterbury*, while in the mean time things went on from bad to worſe, and haſten'd to a *Criſis*.

The two firſt Parliaments King *Charles* had call'd, preſſing him hard for Redreſs of *Grievances*, and puſhing on the Reſentments, begun in the preceding Reign; he was prevail'd with not only to diſſolve them, but to leave the Nation without Parliaments for twelve Years together;

together; and this contrary to the Advice of his beſt Friends and Counſellors, who foreſaw the ill Conſequences that might follow, if an unlucky Juncture of Affairs ſhould neceſſitate him to call one: Which ſoon fell out in the worſt manner that could be, *viz.*

The *Scots* had long been ſoured by the Incroachments they complain'd Men made upon their Rights and Liberties, particularly as to the Matter of *Church-Government*. *Laud*'s Zeal for a Liturgical Uniformity between the Two Nations, prov'd the Fatal Torch that inflam'd Both Kingdoms: Being the ſooner kindled, becauſe there had been ſo much Fuel laid up for many Years, that the leaſt Spark was ſufficient to fire the Pile.

Anno 1637. The *Scots* had not only in a Tumultuous manner refus'd the *Liturgy* compos'd and ſent 'em by *Laud*; but aſſum'd afterwards to themſelves the Liberty and Power of holding a *General Aſſembly* of their Church, and therein to aboliſh *Epiſcopacy*, and commit ſeveral other things judg'd to be inconſiſtent with the Duty of Subjects: Upon which they were declar'd *Rebels*; and the King thought his Honour concern'd in reducing them to Obedience by the Sword.

Inſtead of venturing to Call a Parliament, to enable him to proſecute this Deſign, he was neceſſitated to Levy Money another way. Great Sums were rais'd by *Loan* and *Benevolence*, to which the *Roman Catholicks* and the *Laudean* Faction contributed moſt. Thus ſupplied, the King march'd to the *North* with a Gallant Army; and the *Scots* came as far as the Borders in a Poſture of Defence, and to prevent the Extremity of what might happen, They preſented his Majeſty with their Humble *Supplication* and *Remonſtrance*, ſetting forth their *Inviolable Fidelity to the Crown*; *and that they deſir'd nothing more, but the Peaceable Enjoyment of their Religion and Liberties*; *and that all things might be ſettled by a Free Parliament, and General Aſſembly.* At length through the Interceſſion of the Moderate Party about the King, and ſome of the higheſt Rank in both Kingdoms, his Majeſty was pleas'd to comply with the Deſires of the *Scots*, by a ſolemn *Pacification*, ſign'd in view of both Armies near *Berwick* in *June* 1638.

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This Treaty was but ſhort-liv'd, and ill-obſerv'd on either ſide. The ſame Men that counſell'd the King to the Firſt, puſh'd him on to a Second *War* againſt the *Scots*. Parliaments had now been for ſome Years diſcontinued, and there appear'd no great Inclination in the King to call any more, if this Emergency had not fallen out: But his preſſing Neceſſities, and this New War, oblig'd him once more to try the Affections of his People in a Parliamentary way.

Accordingly a Parliament met in *April* 1640. at the opening of which the King acquainted them, *with the Affronts he had receiv'd from the* Scots, *and demanded a Supply to reduce them to their Duty by force of Arms.* Both Houſes ſhew'd a Willingneſs to relieve the King's Wants, and offer'd him a conſiderable Supply; but with this Condition, *That their Grievances might be firſt redreſs'd*; which were mightily increas'd ſince the laſt Diſſolution: Not only ſo, but the *Scots* had Friends enough in the Parliament to hinder any great matter that ſhou'd be concealed againſt them; and the Majority both of Lords and Commons were but little inclin'd to a War of *Laud*'s kindling.

The King thus diſappointed, Diſſolv'd this Parliament within the Month of their ſitting; and made what ſhifts he could to raiſe a New Army againſt the *Scots*: And they being reſolv'd not to be behind in their Preparations, enter'd *England* with a Numerous Army, compos'd for the moſt part of *Veteran* Officers and Troops, that had ſerv'd in *Germany*, under *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and taking *Berwick* and *Newcaſtle* puſhed their way as far as *Durham*.

The King came in Perſon to *York*, and found himſelf inviron'd with perplexing Difficulties on all Hands: The Nobility and Gentry that attended him, expreſs'd on all occaſions their Diſlike of the Cauſe, and the War they were engag'd in: The *Scots* ſtood firm to their Ground, being fluſh'd with Succeſs: And the King was follow'd from the *South* with Petitions from *London*, ſeveral Countries, and a conſiderable Number of Lords, deſiring him to *Call a New Parliament, as the only Effe-*

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ctual Means to quiet the Minds of the People, and compoſe the preſent War without Bloodſhed.

The King, to Extricate himſelf out of this Labyrinth, ſummon'd the *Great Council of Peers* to meet at *York*, and concert proper Meaſures for this Juncture: They unanimouſly advis'd him to enter into a Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, and ſummon a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*; with both which Advices the King comply'd, and immediately iſſued out Writs for the meeting of a Parliament in *November* 1640. and adjourn'd the *Scots* Treaty to *London*.

No Age ever produc'd greater Men than the Members of this Parliament: They had Abilities and Inclinations ſufficient to have render'd both the King and Nation happy, if *England* had not been through a Chain of concurring Accidents ripen'd for Deſtruction. At their firſt meeting a Scene of *Grievances* under which the Nation had long groan'd, was laid open, and all Topicks made uſe of to diſplay them in the livelieſt Colours. The many Cruelties and Illegal Practices of the *Star-Chamber*, and *High Commiſſion Court*, that had alienated Peoples Minds from the *Hierarchy*, were now inſiſted on to throw down thoſe two *Arbitrary Tribunals*, and with them in ſome time after, the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, and *Epiſcopacy* it ſelf out of the Church. It was not a few of either Houſe, but indeed all the Great Patriots, that concurr'd at firſt to make Enquiry into the *Grievances* of this Reign. Sir *Edward Hide*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*; the Lord *Digby*; the Lord *Falkland*; the Lord *Capel*; Mr. *Grimſtone*, who was choſen afterward Speaker of the Houſe of Commons that brought in King *Charles* II. and was Maſter of the Rolls; Mr. *Holles*, ſince Lord *Holles*; all which ſuffer'd afterwards on the King's ſide; and in general, moſt of thoſe that took the King's part in the ſucceeding War, were the Men that appear'd with the greateſt Zeal for the Redreſs of Grievances, and made the ſharpeſt Speeches upon theſe Subjects. The Intentions of the Gentlemen were certainly Noble and Juſt, and tended to the equal Advantage of King and People: But the Fate of *England* urged on its own Ruine Step by Step,

Step, till an open Rupture between the King and Parliament made the Gap too wide ever to be clos'd again. Sir *Thomas Wentworth* Earl of *Strafford*, and Archbiſhop *Laud* had too great a Share in the Miniſtry, to eſcape being cenſur'd; and they were the firſt that felt the Effects of a Popular Hatred. They, with Duke *Hamilton*, firſt adviſ'd the *King* to Call this Parliament; and all Three fell by it, tho' not at the ſame time.

As a farther Specimen of *Laud*'s Turbulent and Inconſiderate Raſhneſs in ſacrificing a whole Nation to his boundleſs Ambition, it will not be amiſs to inſert his Advice to the King when in Conference with the Earl of *Strafford* and the Lord *Cottington*.

* *Mr. Secretary* Vane's *Notes about the Earl of* Strafford's *Advice to King* Charles, *to bring over an Army from* Ireland, *to ſubdue* England.

* Whitlocke's *Memorials*, Vol. II. Pag. 41.

The Title of them was,

No Danger of War with SCOTLAND.
If Offenſive, not Defenſive.

King. How can we undertake Offenſive War, if we have no more Money?

Strafford. Borrow of the City a Hundred Thouſand Pounds: Go on vigorouſly to Levy Ship-Money. Your Majeſty having try'd the Affection of your People, you are abſolv'd and looſe from all manner of Government, and to do what Power will admit. Your Majeſty having try'd all ways, and being refus'd, ſhall be acquitted before God and Man. And you have an Army in *Ireland* that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience; for I am confident the *Scots* cannot hold out Months.

Laud. You have try'd all ways, and have always been deny'd: It is now Lawful to take it by Force.

Cottington. Levies abroad there may be made for Defence of the Kingdom. The Lower Houſe are weary of

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the King and Church. All ways ſhall be juſt to raiſe Money by, in this inevitable Neceſſity, and are to be us'd, being Lawful.

Laud. For an Offenſive, not a Defenſive War.

Strafford. The Town is full of Lords: Put the Commiſſion of Array on Foot; and if any of them ſtir, we will make 'em ſmart.

To ſuch Counſellors this Unhappy Prince owed all his Misfortunes! I ſhall conclude this Head with obſerving, that as Archbiſhop *Laud* was nothing inferior to the Earl of *Strafford* in Parts, and much his Superior in Learning; ſo it is as hard to determine which of the Two made a Nobler Defence at their Tryal. *Laud*'s Fate has been the ſame with that of moſt great Men, to be repreſented to Poſterity in *Extremes*; for we have nothing writ of him, but what's either *Panegyric* or *Satyr*, rather than Hiſtory.

That he was brought to his Tryal, and found Guilty, during the Heat of a Civil War, and when all things were tending to Confuſion, was nothing ſtrange: Nor was Serjeant *Wild*'s Introduction at the opening of his Charge, any thing but what might have been expected at ſuch a time, when he told the Lords, That *it might be ſaid of the Great Cauſe* of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as it was in a like Caſe, *Repertum eſt hodierno die facinus, quod nec Poeta fingere, nec Hiſtrio ſonare, nec minus imitari potuerit*; but it was indeed ſtrange, and none of the leaſt of this great Man's Misfortunes, that 3 Years before, he ſhould be declar'd by the Houſe of Commons a Traytor *Nemine Contradicente*, at a time when there was not the leaſt Miſunderſtanding between the King and Parliament, being within the firſt Month after they ſat down: And which was yet ſtranger, that no body was more ſevere upon him, than ſome of thoſe that afterwards took the King's Part againſt the Parliament, and were at laſt the chief Inſtruments of his Son's *Reſtauration*. Whoever reads Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*'s Speech upon Voting his Impeachment, or *Pym*'s upon carrying it up to the Lords, will be apt to think, "That ſcarce any Age has pro-
"duc'd a Man whoſe Actions and Conduct have been
"more

" more obnoxious to Obloquy, or given greater occa-
" ſion for it.

There was one Thread that run through his whole Accuſation, and upon which moſt of the Articles of his Impeachment turn'd; and that was, his Inclination to Popery, and Deſign to introduce that Religion: Of which his Immortal *Book* againſt *Fiſher* the Jeſuit ſufficiently acquits him. And yet not Proteſtants only, but even *Roman Catholicks* themſelves were led into this Miſtake; otherwiſe they would not have dar'd to offer one in his Poſt a *Cardinal's Cap*, as * he confeſſes they did twice. The introducing of a great many Pompous *Ceremonies* into the Church, the *Licenſing* ſome Books that ſpoke favourably of the Church of *Rome*, and refuſing to *Licenſe* ſome others writ againſt it, were the principal Cauſes of his being thus miſrepreſented: And indeed his Behaviour in theſe Matters, as likewiſe in the *Star-Chamber* and *High-Commiſſion Court*, can hardly be accounted for; and particularly his *Theatrical* manner of Conſecrating *Katherine Creed* Church; I ſhall cloſe all, agreeing with the † *Hiſtorian*, that notwithſtanding all theſe Faults, and in ſpite of Malice——

" He was a Man of Great Parts, and very
" Exemplary Virtues, allay'd and diſcredited by ſome
" unpopular natural Infirmities; the greateſt of which
" was (beſides a haſty, ſharp way of expreſſing him-
" ſelf) that he believ'd Innocence of Heart and Inte-
" grity of Manners, was a guard ſtrong enough to ſe-
" cure any Man in his Voyage through this World, in
" what Company ſoever he travell'd, and through what
" Ways ſoever he was to paſs: And ſure never any
" Man was better ſupplied with that Proviſion: He
" was always maligned and perſecuted by thoſe who
" were of the *Calvinian* Faction, and who according to
" their uſual Maxim, and Practice, call every Man
" they do not love *Papiſt*; and, under this ſenſe-
" leſs Appellation, they created many Troubles and
" Vexations; He was certainly at Heart paſſionately
" concern'd for the Church: He had uſually about

* *Vide* Biſhop *Laud's* Diary.

† *Clarendon's* Hiſt. Vol. I. Pag. 90, 150.

" him an uncourtly Quickneſs, if not Sharpneſs, and " did not ſufficiently value what Men ſaid or thought " of him; by which means a more than ordinary Pre- " judice and Uncharitableneſs was always contracted " againſt him.

Thus, Sir, have I laid before you Three Conſiderable Inſtances of the Clergy's being the Original Cauſe of the Diſturbances in this Nation, and I hope I ſhall ſcape free from the Imputation of Partiality, ſince I have been equally Juſt to their Vertues as Vices.

Without any Reflection, let any Man but ſoberly conſider the Behaviour of *Thomas a Becket* to King *Henry*, and tho' there was *Faults on both Sides*, yet I am certain *Becket*'s unparallel'd Inſolence will meet with no one's Approbation.

And as to Archbiſhop *Laud*, I dare appeal to the moſt ſtrenuous of his Defenders, that I have done him ſtrict Juſtice: I muſt own, that I think we may properly compare the Uſe of the Clergy to the Elements of *Fire* and *Water*, viz. *That they are good Servants, but bad Maſters*; and the Preſidents of theſe two Gentlemen are not very tempting for Futurity to proceed upon, ſince both of them ſacrificed their Lives, to the Caprice of their Ambition.

I ſhall now examine the Conduct of that Factious Crew, of *Wolves* in *Sheeps Cloathing*, who under a Pretence of *Religion* deſtroy'd that very Authority by which it was ſupported; and under Diſguiſe, thought they might eſcape the Cenſure of being reckon'd Enemies to the Church by ſiding with Biſhop *Abbot*, whoſe Misfortunes were drawn upon him, by not diſcerning their Hypocriſie; and in King *Charles* I's time notwithſtanding their continual Clamour, and Outcry for the Preſervation of their *Religion*, and ſerving of the *Lord*, they had no other Deſigns in view but to uſurp themſelves into an Eſtabliſhment; And to whom may be juſtly applied that Remark of the Judicious M. *Bayle*, " Theſe " Men deſir'd at firſt a meer *Toleration*, but in a little " time they pretended to ſhare with us all Employ- " ments and Places of Truſt; at firſt they thought them-

" ſelves

" ſelves very happy in the peaceable Enjoyment of their " Lives and Fortunes, afterwards when they had got " to ſome head, they were very unhappy if they had " fewer Privileges than the Eſtabliſh'd Church; and " then again miſerable if they were not the prevailing " Party. During a certain time they were like *Cæſar*, " who would have no Maſter; and at laſt they copied " *Pompey's* Example, who would have no Partner. To which Degree they did at length arrive, and how they behav'd themſelves under their ſhort-liv'd, and Tyrannical Uſurpation ſhall be my next Buſineſs to examine.

As a Specimen of their Chriſtian *Moderation* and *Temper*, I ſhall firſt produce a ſevere Edict againſt Toleration, and without any other Reflection leave them to chew upon the Cud of their own Underſtanding, and ſoberly to weigh and determine if they can think themſelves now miſus'd, ſince I here make their own Actions both Judge and Jury in the Caſe.

A LETTER of the Miniſters of the City of *London*, preſented the Firſt of *January*, 1645, to the Reverend Aſſembly of Divines ſitting at *Weſtminſter*, by Authority of Parliament, Againſt TOLERATION.

To our Reverend, Learned, and Religious Brethren. the Prolocutor, and the reſt of the Divines aſſembled, now ſitting at Weſtminſter, *by Authority of Parliament, theſe preſent.*

Reverend and beloved Brethren,

WE are exceeding apprehenſive of the Deſirableneſs of the Church's Peace, and of the Pleaſantneſs of Brethrens Unity, knowing that when Peace is ſet upon its proper Baſis, *viz.* Righteouſneſs and Truth, it is one of the beſt Poſſeſſions, both delectable and profitable; like *Aaron's* Ointment, and the Dew of *Hermon*. It is true, by reaſon of different Lights, and different Sights among Brethren, there

may be diſſenting in Opinion; yet, why ſhould there be any ſeparating from Church-Communion? The Church's Coat may be of divers Colours; yet, why ſhould there be any Rent in it? Have we not a Touchſtone of Truth, the good Word of God? And when all things are examin'd by this Word, then that which is beſt may be held faſt; but firſt, they muſt be known, and then examin'd afterwards. If our diſſenting Brethren, after ſo many importunate Intreaties, would have been perſuaded (either in Zeal to the Truth, or in ſincere Love to the Church's Peace and Unity among Brethren, or in reſpect to their own Reputation, by fair and ingenious Dealing, or in Conſcience to their Promiſe made to the *Miniſters* of *London*, now five Years ſince, or any ſuch-like reaſonable Conſideration) at laſt, to have given us a full Narrative of their Opinions, and grounds of their Separation; we are perſuaded, they would not have ſtood at ſuch a Diſtance from us, as now they do: But they choſe rather to walk by their own private Lights, than to unboſom themſelves to us, their moſt affectionate Brethren, and to ſet themſelves in an untrodden Way of their own, rather than to wait what our covenanted Reformation, according to the Word of God, and Examples of the beſt Reformed Churches, would bring forth. But the Offence doth not end here; it is much that our Brethren ſhould ſeparate from the Church; but that they ſhould endeavour to get a Warrant to authorize their *Separation* from it, and to have Liberty (by drawing Members out of it) to weaken and diminiſh it, till (ſo far as lies in them) they have brought it to nothing; this we think to be plainly unlawful; yet this, we underſtand, is their preſent Deſign and Endeavour. Wherefore (*Reverend Brethren*) having had ſuch large Experience of your Zeal of God's Glory, your Care of his afflicted Church, your earneſt Endeavours to promote the complete Reformation of it, and of your ready Concurrence with us, in the Improvement of any Means that might be found conducible to this End; we are bold to hint unto you theſe our enſuing Reaſons, againſt the *Toleration* of Independency in this Church.

I. The

I. The Desires and Endeavours of *Independency* for a *Toleration*, are, at this time, extreamly unseasonable and preposterous; for,

1. The Reformation of Religion is not yet perfected and settled among us, according to our Covenant. And why may not the Reformation be raised up, at last, to such Purity and Perfection, that *truly tender Consciences* may receive abundant Satisfaction, for ought that yet appears?

2. It is not yet known, what the Government of the *Independents* is, neither would they ever yet vouchsafe to let the World know what they hold in that Point, though some of their Party have been too forward to challenge the *London*-Petitioners, as *led with blind Obedience, and pinning their Souls upon the Priest's Sleeve*, for desiring an Establishment of the Government of Christ, before there was any Model of it extant.

3. We can hardly be perswaded, that the *Independents* themselves (after all the Stirs they have made amongst us) are, as yet fully resolved about their own way, wherewith they would be concluded, seeing they publish not their Model, (though they are nimble enough in Publishing other things) and profess Reserves, and new Lights, for which they will (no doubt) expect the like *Toleration*, and so *in infinitum*. It were more seasonable to move for *Toleration*, when once they are positively determin'd how far they mean to go, and were they mean to stay.

II. Their Desires and Endeavours are unreasonable and unequal, in divers regards.

1. Partly, because no such *Toleration* hath hitherto been established (as far as we know) in any Christian State, by the Civil Magistrate.

2. Partly, because some of them have solemnly profess'd, that they cannot suffer *Presbytery*: And answerable hereunto is their Practice, in those Places where *Independency* prevails.

3. And, partly, because to grant to them, and not to other *Sectaries*, who are free-born as well as they, and have done as good Service as they, to the Publick, (as they used to plead) will be

be counted Injuſtice and great Partiality; but to grant it unto all will ſcarce be cleared from great Impiety.

III. *Independency* is a *Schiſm.* For,

1. *Independents* do depart from our Churches, being true Churches, and ſo acknowledged by themſelves.

2. They draw and ſeduce our Members from our Congregations.

3. They erect ſeparate Congregations, under a ſeparate and undiſcover'd Government.

4. They refuſe Communion with our Churches, in the Sacraments.

5. Their Miniſters refuſe to preach among us, as Officers.

6. Their Members, if at any time they join with us, in hearing the Word and Prayer, yet they do it not as with the Miniſterial Word and Prayer, nor as Acts of Church-Communion.

Now we judge that no *Schiſm* is to be tolera-
* *Schiſms.* rated in the Church; * σχίσματα, 1 Cor. i. 10.
† *Diviſions.* 1 Cor. xii. 25. † διχοστασίας, Rom. vi. 17. with 1 Cor. iii. 3. Gal. v. 20.

IV. Many Miſchiefs will inevitably follow upon this *Toleration*, and that both to Church and Common-Wealth.

Firſt, To the Church; as,

1. Cauſeleſs and unjuſt Revolts from our Miniſtry and Congregations.

2. Our Peoples Minds will be troubled, and in danger to be ſubverted, as *Acts* xv. 24.

3. Bitter Heart-burnings among Brethren, will be fomented and perpetuated to Poſterity.

4. The Godly, Painful and Orthodox Miniſtry, will be diſcouraged and deſpiſed.

5. The Life and Power of Godlineſs will be eaten out by frivolous Diſputes and vain Janglings.

6. The whole Courſe of Religion, in private Families, will be interrupted and undermined.

7 Reciprocal

7. Reciprocal Duties, between Perſons of neareſt and dea-reſt Relations, will be extremely violated.

8. The whole Work of Reformation, eſpecially in Diſcipline and Government, will be retarded, diſturb'd, and in danger of being made utterly fruſtrate and void, whilſt every Perſon ſhall have liberty, upon every trivial Diſcontent at *Presbyterial* Government and Churches, to revolt from us, and liſt themſelves in ſeparated Congregations.

9. All other *Sects* and *Hereſies* in the Kingdom, will be encouraged to endeavour the like *Toleration*.

10. All other *Sects* and *Hereſies* in the Kingdom will ſafeguard and ſhelter themſelves under the Wings of *Independency*; and ſome of the *Independents*, in their Books, have openly avowed, that they plead for *Liberty of Conſcience* as well for others as themſelves.

11. And the whole Church of *England*, in ſhort time, will be ſwallowed up with Diſtraction and Confuſion, And, *God is not the Author of Confuſion, but of Peace*, 1 Cor. xiv. 33.

Secondly, To the Common-Wealth. For,

1. All theſe Miſchiefs in the Church, will have their proportionable Influence upon the Common-Wealth.

2. The Kingdom will be wofully weakned, by Scandals and Diviſions; ſo that the Enemies of it, both Domeſtical and Foreign, will be encouraged to plot and practiſe againſt it.

3. It is much to be doubted, leſt the Power of the Magiſtrate ſhould not only be weakned, but even utterly overthrown, conſidering the Principles and Practices of *Independents*, together with their Compliance with other *Sectaries*, ſufficiently known to be Anti-Magiſtratical.

V. Such a *Toleration* is utterly repugnant and inconſiſtent with that *Solemn League and Covenant*, for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, which not only both Houſes of Parliament, but alſo Perſons of all ſorts in both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, have ſubſcribed, and with Hands lifted up to the moſt High God, have ſworn: Which Covenant, likewiſe, both you and we, and thoſe that moſt earneſtly purſue the Eſtabliſhment of this *Toleration*, have made, (or ſhould have made) *in the Preſence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform*

perform the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at that great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts ſhall be diſcloſed. For,

1. This is oppoſite to the Reformation of Religion, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the beſt Reformed Churches, *Article* 1.

2. It is deſtructive to the three Kingdoms neareſt Conjunction, and Uniformity in Religion and Government, which might lead us and our Poſterity after us, as Brethren, to live in Faith and Love, *Art.* 1.

3. It is plainly contrary to that Extirpation of *Schiſm, and whatſoever ſhall be found contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the Power of Godlineſs*, which we have ſworn *ſincerely, really, and conſtantly to endeavour, without reſpect of Perſons*, Art. 2.

4. Hereby we ſhall be involved in the Guilt of other Mens Sins, and thereby be endangered to receive of their Plagues, *Art.* 2.

5. It ſeems utterly impoſſible, (if ſuch *Toleration* ſhould be granted) that *the Lord ſhould be one, and his Name one, in the three Kingdoms*, Art. 2.

6. This will palpably *hinder the Reformation of Religion*; inevitably *divide one Kingdom from another*; *and* unhappily *make Factions and Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant*: Of which evil Offices, whoſoever ſhall be found guilty, are reputed, in the Words of the Covenant, *Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments, to be diſcovered, that they may be brought to publick Tryal, and receive condign Puniſhment*, Art. 4. and 5.

Theſe are ſome of the many Conſiderations, which make deep Impreſſion upon our Spirits againſt that great *Diana* of *Independents*, and all the *Sectaries*, ſo much cried up by them, in theſe diſtracted Times; *viz. A Toleration, a Toleration. And, however, none ſhould have more rejoyced than ourſelves, in the Eſtabliſhment of a Brotherly, Peaceable, and Chriſtian Accommodation; yet, this being utterly rejected by them, we cannot diſſemble, how, upon the fore-mention'd Grounds, we deteſt and abhor the much endeavour'd Toleration.* Our Bowels, our Bowels are ſtir'd within us; and we could even drown ourſelves in Tears, when we call to mind, how long and ſharp a Travel this Kingdom hath been in, for many Years together to bring forth that

bleſſed

bleſſed Fruit of a pure and perfect Reformation: And now, at laſt, after all our Pangs, and Dolours, and Expectations, this real and thorough Reformation is in danger of being ſtrangled in the Birth, by a lawleſs *Toleration*, that ſtrives to be brought forth before it.

Wherefore, (*Reverend and Beloved Brethren*) we could not ſatisfy ourſelves, till we had made ſome Diſcovery of our Thoughts unto you about this Matter; not that we can harbour the leaſt Jealouſy of your Zeal, Fidelity or Induſtry, in the oppoſing and extirpating of ſuch a Root of Gall and Bitterneſs, as *Toleration* is, and will be, both in preſent and future Ages; but that we may, what lies in us, endeavour mutually to ſtrengthen one another's Reſolutions againſt the preſent growing Evils; and that our Conſciences may not ſmite us another day for ſinful Silence, or ſluggiſh Deficiency in any point of Duty tending to the Glory of Chriſt, Honour of the Truth, Peace of the Church, Perfection of Reformation, Performance of our Covenant, and Benefit of preſent and ſucceeding Generations.

Subſcribed by Us,

From *Sion-College*, *London*, *Dec.* 18. 1645.

Your affectionate Brethren, and Fellow-Labourers in the Work of the Miniſtry, to whom Truth and Peace is very precious.

The foregoing *Manifeſto*, Sir, is a ſufficient Demonſtration of the Behaviour of thoſe *Sectaries*, who ever when in Power, put in Practice the very Reverſe of what they before Inculcated: And notwithſtanding all their ſpecious Pretences are no other than as the *Vipers* in our Conſtitution; for which Reaſon no Eye can be too watchful, or Law too ſtrict that ſhall be made againſt them, ſince 'tis much ſafer dealing with an open Enemy than a Hypocrite, thoſe few among them whoſe Conſciences are *truly ſcrupulous* ought in all Reaſon to enjoy the Benefit of Her Majeſty's moſt Gracious *Indulgence*; but for the *Body* of them, the *Church of* England ſhould guide themſelves by this unerring Maxim,

That in having once treacherously undermin'd and subverted the Establish'd Government of this Kingdom; the Blame justly lies against them, but if we permit 'em to play the same Game over again, *The Sin is most certainly at our own Door*: And if it shall be thought proper in this Session to deprive 'em of what they always had recourse to, some Years past as an Asylum for whatever Villanies they have transacted (by reviving the *Occasional Bill*) no Arguments can be more fitly made use of, than the foregoing ones brought by themselves against the *Independents*.

Thus does it plainly appear how prejudicial to the Nation, as well as Fatal to themselves, it has ever been when the Clergy have pretended to interfere in the *Political Administration*, That being a Province into which they have not the least Business to inquire; and nothing would be more highly resented by them, than if the *Parliament* should undertake the Management and Regulation of their *Ecclesiastical Canons* and *Constitutions*; but at the same time nothing is more Reasonable than this would be, for if they will not keep within their own *Sphere*, but be continually dictating to that *Great Assembly* what Laws they shall make and what not, by the same Rule, they ought from thence to be Limited what Doctrines are most proper for them to Preach.

As all Mankind must agree that Archbishop *Laud* was the greatest Divine in the Age he lived, at the same time they must acknowledge him the worst Politician, which Error drew as many Inconveniences upon the Church, as *Abbot*'s not being sufficiently qualified for so great a Post as he fill'd; more especially in succeeding a Person of Dr. *Bancroft*'s Abilities, and whose Death the * Historian declares could never be enough lamented — "He understood the Church excellently, and had almost rescued it out of the Hands of the *Calvinian* Party, and very much subdued the unruly Spirit of Nonconformists, countenanc'd Men of the greatest Parts in Learning, and dispos'd the *Clergy* to a more solid Course of Study, than they had been accustom'd to; and

* *Clarendon*, Vol. I Pag 88.

" and if he had liv'd, would quickly have extinguish'd " all that Fire in *England* which had been kindled at " *Geneva*, and that Infection would easily have been " kept out, which could not afterwards be so easily " expell'd.

Such are the Men who will be had in everlasting Remembrances, and whose Memories will ever smell sweet in the Nostrils of Posterity. And as an equal Parallel to Archbishop *Bancroft*, I think I may safely name that Perfect Model of Apostolical Piety, the late Learned and never to be enough lamented Bishop *Beveridge*, who to those Souls committed to his Charge, was continually with the most Brotherly Affection, Preaching, Rebuking, and Exhorting them to attain that *Crown of Glory laid up for the Righteous*. Herein consists the true *Office* and *Authority* of the *Priesthood*; and the following of his Example is what I most earnestly recommend to the whole Body of our *Clergy*, and that laying aside all other Disputes than what effect the Fundamental Principles and Doctrines of the *Christian Religion*; they should, in their Pastoral Care, be continually watching over, and directing their Flocks to *follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth*. Then with Him shall they enter into the Joy of their Lord, be made Partakers of Immortal Glory; and shine as Stars in the Firmament!

These are the Patterns highly worthy of Imitation! who invite us to practice the Great Duties of Brotherly Love and Charity, far superior to the Treatment we now give one another, by stigmatizing our selves with Appellations equally as false as Odious, and as my Lord *Clarendon* has very justly observed in Archbishop *Laud*'s Character, that the *Calvinian* Faction in his time, made use of that senseless Appellation, of traducing every well-meaning Person with the Name of *Papist*, who expres'd a more than Ordinary Zeal for the Church of *England*; so equally heinous is it on our side, to asperse those who are call'd *Low-Church-Men* as being directly in the *Presbyterian* Interest, when nothing is more certain than that they have not only the least Tendency to, but on the

contrary have the juſteſt Abhorrence of any ſuch Principles.

'Tis now time to haſten to a Concluſion, which I ſhall do after having made a ſhort Application to Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, who, I underſtand, is choſen *Prolocutor* of the Convocation. If that Venerable Aſſembly meets, I hope they will anſwer the Ends of their Inſtitution, and do ſomething in Reality for the Good of the Church, by not only diſcountenancing all Irreligious Tenets, but puniſhing the Authors of them: Which will be much more commendable than their former Behaviour, in continually Quarrelling one with another, the *Lower Houſe* aſſerting their Power and Privilege againſt the *Upper*, and by continual Replies and Defences on *both Sides*, ſpun out a long uſeleſs Controverſy, which inſtead of being the leaſt Service to Religion, was wholly Deſtructive of it; of this the Dean of *Carliſle* knows himſelf to have been but too Guilty. It would, Sir, be the greateſt piece of Service you could do, to perſuade him to apply thoſe Extraordinary Talents with which he is endow'd, to more ſolid Studies than he has hitherto been accuſtom'd; and to convince him, that turning *Examiner* and writing *Epigrams* upon *Flavia's* Fan, do not all ſuit with the Dignity of the *Sacerdotal Function*, as to the ungenteel Treatment Mr. *Hoadly* has lately met with from him, by Slander and Calumny under an *Anonymous* Covert: I ſhall not take the leaſt Notice, Mr. *Hoadly* being beſt able to defend himſelf; which indeed he has ſo well done, that I dare believe there never will be any Reply; but if there ſhould, Mr. *Dean* may depend upon having all his *Siftings*, Windings, and Evaſions, fully laid open, and Repreſented in their True Light.

To conclude: I will not enter into any Detail of the Doctrines of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non Reſiſtance*. I am ſorry to ſee our Diſputes run ſo high upon thoſe Points; 'tis moſt evident, that the Aſſertors of an *Unlimited Obedience* are always forc'd to give Ground; and that

that the Patrons of *Reſiſtance* by inculcating their Doctrine with ſo great a Vehemency, do a real Miſchief to the Publick by creating Uneaſineſſes in the Minds of the People: For as a late * Author has Judiciouſly Remark'd, "The Impreſſion of Self-Preſervation is ſo ſtrong "upon Human Nature, as not only "to ſuperſede all other Proviſion, but "to render it inſignificant: 'Tis no Caſe in the Conduct of Human Life, that can be improv'd by any "Reaſoning, what a Man is to do when he's driven by "a Sword to the Wall.

* *The Vind. and Advancement of our National Conſtitution*, &c. Pag. 19.

Upon the whole, ſince Dr. *Sacheverell* and Mr. *Hoadly* are the Marks at which all our preſent Controverſies are levell'd, I muſt freely declare my Sentiments, that I think the one has rail'd Scurrilouſly, and the other writ Judiciouſly in Defence of the *Church of* England.

I ſhall cloſe all with the Excellent Judgment of the † Archbiſhop of *York* in theſe Matters, (being entirely of his Opinion) which plainly demonſtrates that the Clergy ought not to concern themſelves with Political Affairs. — "As the Laws of "the Land are the Meaſures of our Active Obedience, ſo "are alſo the ſame Laws the Meaſures of our Submiſſion; "and as we are not bound to obey, but where the Laws "and Conſtitution require our Obedience, ſo neither "are we bound to ſubmit, but as the Laws and Conſtitution do require our Submiſſion. If a Preacher in the "Pulpit ſhould Preſume to give his Judgment about the "Management of Publick Affairs, or to lay down Doctrines as from Chriſt about the Forms and Models of "Kingdoms and Common-Wealths, or to adjuſt the "Limits of the Prerogative of the Prince, or of the "Liberties of the Subject in our preſent Government: "I ſay, if a Divine ſhould meddle with ſuch Matters "as theſe in his Sermons, I do not know how he can "be excus'd from the juſt Cenſure of medling with "things that nothing concern him. This is indeed a "Practiſing in State Matters; and is uſurping an Office,

† Vid. *His* 30th. *of* Jan. *Serm. before the Lords*, Anno 1700. Pag 20.

"that

" that belongs to another Profeſſion, and to Men of
" another Character; and I ſhould account it every
" whit as indecent in a Clergy-Man to take upon him
" to deal in theſe Points, as it would be for him to de-
" termine Titles of Land in the Pulpit, which are in
" Diſpute in *Weſtminſter-Hall.*

Now, *SIR*, heartily wiſhing that what I have ſaid may have the deſir'd Effect for which it was ſincerely intended, by contributing in ſome Meaſure towards the Healing our preſent Animoſities: I ſubſcribe my ſelf,

Your moſt Obedient,

Humble Servant, &c.

FINIS.